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HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE 6-16-80
10/2/95

SP2 Top/ep



Pla

100-45733-16

ENCLOSURE

TO: Director, FBI
FROM: SAC, Albany (100-24343) (RUC)
SUBJECT: MARLENE DIXON, aka;
SM - C

b6
b7C

Enclosed for the Bureau is one copy each of reports
of ASAIC [redacted] Drug Enforcement Administration,
Burlington, Vermont dated 11/22/76.

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED

DATE

6-7-80 BY SP-7
10/2/85

SP-7
Sp-7 Tap/4

351/00/26



100-453733-16

ENCLOSURE

REPORT OF INVESTIGATION

PAGE 1 OF 1

FILE TITLE REFERRALS TO FBI	IDENTIFIER	FILE NUMBER GFB7-76-9031
PROGRAM CODE		
<input type="checkbox"/> ACTIVE <input type="checkbox"/> CLOSED <input type="checkbox"/> REQUESTED ACTION COMPLETED <input type="checkbox"/> ACTION REQUESTED FROM:	OTHER OFFICERS	CROSS FILE <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>
BY AT DATE	ASAIC Burlington, Vermont November 22, 1976	RELATED FILE b6 b7C
REPORT RE: National Security Intelligence		

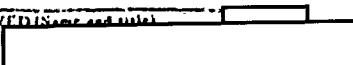
DETAILS:

1. On November 19, 1976, Special Agent Darttram interviewed a confidential source of information. During the interview, the source advised that Marlene DIXON alias Marlene DILLON alias Marlene DAVIDSON, believed to be presently residing in California, is a member of the Communist Party, and it is believed by the informant that DIXON has been in contact with foreign subversive elements.
2. DIXON, according to the informant, previously resided in the S. Durham, P.Q., Canada area and was a sociology professor at McGill University in Canada. DIXON allegedly had contact with members of the Quebec Separatists (PLQ) while in Canada. DIXON allegedly arrived in Canada from Chicago. IL
3. The source advised that it had been with DIXON during a meeting in Canada with an unknown male subject identified by DIXON as an "important agent in North America" and that during the meeting a discussion was held concerning a "cell" in Colorado. The informant could provide no further information as to the identity of the second subject.
4. The source identified DIXON as a white female, approximately 40 YOA, heavy build, long black hair, glasses. DIXON was originally from the Los Angeles, California, area. According to source, subject was in possession of two carbines and handgun prior to leaving Canada.
5. The reliability of the source is not known at this time, but other information supplied by the source has been independently corroborated.

B. APPROX. 1936

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTIONS:

1. Marlene DIXON, negative Naddis, alias Marlene DILLON, alias Marlene Davidson

REGION	SIGNATURE (Agent)
DISTRICT	
OTHER HQS-ENOE DIRECT FBI, Albany (direct)	APPROVED (Name and title) 

DEA Form - 6
(Aug. 1973)

OFFICIAL USE ONLY

Drug Enforcement Administration
Department of Justice

This report is the property of the Drug Enforcement Administration

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (105-184369)

DATE: 2/8/71 ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM : SAC, SAN FRANCISCO (100-61281) (P)

SUBJECT: REVOLUTIONARY UNION (RU)
IS - RU
OO: SF

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
EXCEPT WHERE SHOWN
OTHERWISE

Enclosed for Boston is a Xerox'd copy of the
Hammer and Steel Newsletter dated January, 1971. Enclosed
for Omaha are the issues dated 11/20/70 and 12/11/70 of the
newspaper, "Ain't I A Woman".

CLASS. & EXT. BY 9803 RDD/ci
REASON-FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-8-91

- 7 - Bureau (RM)
 - (1 - 100-453233) (WOMEN's LIBERATION MOVEMENT)
 - (1 - 100-453733) (MARLENE DIXON)
 - (1 - 100-) ()
 - (1 -) ()
- 3 - Boston (100-39275) (enc. 1) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-34623) (HAMMER & STEEL)
 - (1 - 100-40255) (WOMEN's LIBERATION MOVEMENT)
- 4 - Chicago (105-27305) (RM)
 - (1 - 100-46797) (WOMEN's LIBERATION MOVEMENT)
 - (2 - 100-47015) (MARLENE DIXON)
- 2 - Indianapolis (RM)
- 2 - Louisville (RM)
- 3 - New Orleans (RM)
 - (2 - 100-) ()
- 3 - New York (105-100707) (RM)
 - (1-100-164665) (WOMEN's LIBERATION MOVEMENT)
- 3 - Omaha (encs. 2) (RM)
- 2 - Richmond (RM)
- 7 - San Francisco
 - (1 - 100-50923) (HAMMER & STEEL)
 - (1 - 100-62721) (WOMEN's LIBERATION MOVEMENT)
 - (1 - 100-64390) (MARLENE DIXON)
 - (1 - 100-INDEX) ()
 - (1 -) ()

CLASS. & EXT. BY 58-63K-DZC
REASON - FCIM II, 1-2.4.2 2
DATE OF REVIEW 2-8-91

DECLASSIFIED BY: sp2 top/ep
ON 11/3/15

JES:ay
(36)

100-453733

APPROPRIATE AGENCIES AND FIELD OFFICES
ADVISED BY ROUTING SLIP ON 7-20-79/ci.



55 FEB 25 1971

Buy U.S. Savings Bonds Regularly on the Payroll Savings Plan

NOT RECORDED
165 FEB 16 1971

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

105-184369-523
ORIGINAL FILED IN

SF 100-61281
JES:ay

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Enclosed items and the other publication discussed in this letter were made available by [redacted] on dates indicated, as having been received by the Revolutionary Union (RU) aka Bay Area Revolutionary Union, at its communications address in San Francisco. Enclosed items and other items discussed or set out undoubtedly received wide distribution and will need no classification if no mention is made that they were received by the RU at San Francisco. *C*


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Any such mention should be classified ~~SECRET~~ to protect the sensitive relationship between the source and the RU. *C*

A characterization of the RU is appended to this communication. *C (u)*


Enclosures and information set forth are furnished for the information of recipient offices and no further action is contemplated by San Francisco. Copies are directed to Indianapolis, Louisville and Richmond Offices in view of fact that participants in the Grinnell Conference included persons from the territories covered by those offices. *C (u)*

BOSTON

HAMMER & STEEL NEWSLETTER
P. O. Box 101
Mattapan, Mass. 02126  *u*

This was the January, 1971 issue of "Hammer & Steel Newsletter" consisting of 16 pages. Xerox'd copy enclosed for Boston and another Xerox'd copy placed in San Francisco file on Hammer & Steel. It was made available by source on 1/22/71. *C*

CHICAGO

URBAN RESEARCH CORPORATION
5464 South Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60615  *u*

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

SF 100-61281

JES:ay

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

A printed letter dated 1/8/71, from [redacted]
enclosed copies of the "Spokeswoman", Vol 1, No. 7, dated
December 1, 1970 and Vol. 1 No. 8, dated January 1, 1971.
San Francisco indices reflect no record of the Urban Research
Corporation and no record identifiable with [redacted]
Xerox'd reproductions of this letter and of the first
pages of these issues of the "Spokeswoman" are included
below:

b6
b7C

4 (u)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



Urban Research Corporation
5464 South Shore Drive
Chicago, Illinois 60615
Telephone: 312-955-3050

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

8 January 1971

Dear Sisters:

I am asking your support of The Spokeswoman as a publication serving the women's movement. Enclosed are the last several issues so you can judge this. Also enclosed is a letter about Spokeswoman by the Chicago Women's Liberation Union which describes the political context of the newsletter. (u) (X)

I hope you will follow the Union's recommendation that women's liberation groups support The Spokeswoman by sending information and by helping distribute it.

If we can be of any help to you on your projects, please let us know.

In solidarity,



for The Spokeswoman

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b7C

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago women's group ready to launch day care center after one year of effort. See below. . . . Children's book world lectured about sexism. Story on page 4. . . . H.E.W. finally takes first small sanctions against universities for sex discrimination. Also page 4. . . . Arkansas judge extends protective law to men. Page 5. . . . Women's rights groups have recently formed in countries around the world. See page 3.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Chicago Women's Day Care Center Finally Flowers

After working for more than a year, a Chicago women's liberation group will open a non-profit, parent-controlled heterogeneous child care center for working mothers January 1. And what may be of interest to other groups is that the women plan to write up their experience step by step so that community women who, like them, have no prior experience with day care, can avoid the pitfalls they encountered.

The Women's Rights Committee of the Hyde Park Kenwood Community Conference started by investigating commercial space, churches and mobile units, and by visiting numerous day care centers and specialists. In terms of location, the women now feel that underutilized church Sunday schools are the most feasible spaces for community day care. The women eventually settled on the Church of St. Paul and the Redeemer and requested use of its Sunday school facilities rent-free. After some negotiation, the church board agreed on the condition that the group enter a formal contract, in which they would be solely responsible for their own operation (including insurance), and the church would incur no cost. The next step was having a volunteer architect recommend changes necessary under Chicago's code requirements. The women suggest other groups should find architects already familiar with code rules who can formally write up the necessary changes at the first site inspection to save time and trouble. (4)

Since the church required the group be licensed by the city and state as a condition of their contract, the women began trying to meet what are in Chicago unwieldy code requirements which tend to be administered punitively. It was this phase which took much of the year. Pat Novick and Mary Houghton literally spent days seeking appointments with numerous city officials from innumerable city agencies and arranging on-site inspections with ten different departments. The climax of the bureaucratic tale came last month, when a building department official checked his record book and told the women that, except for meeting one lighting requirement, their license had been approved back in April.

Their financing strategy is unusual; and may be the element of most interest to other groups. Since Mary Houghton is an officer of a community bank, she prepared sound business projections, a five-year budget and a profit and loss statement. Her figures showed that the group needed \$5,000 to launch the center and that a \$4,000 loan could be obtained if the group raised \$1,000 equity and solicited guarantors from numerous community figures for the amount of the loan.

The women solicited gifts from local merchants and friends and held an auction, "Bids for Kids," on October 25 which raised \$1,800. The women also obtained guarantors for their loan in October, after obtaining an initial \$1,000 guarantee from a Hyde Park-based business, Urban Research Corporation. The loan application is now being processed by the Hyde Park Bank and Trust Company.

As a director, the group plans to hire a woman with professional background at a salary of \$10,000 who is capable of training paraprofessionals on the job. According to projections, the center can start with as few as 20 children and grow to a capacity of 53. Paraprofessionals will be added at the ratio of one for each ten children. Applications for director are now being accepted.

The Spokeswoman is published by the Urban Research Corporation, 5464 South Shore Drive, Chicago, Illinois 60615 (312-955-3050). Subscription price is \$6 per year. Copyright © 1970 by Urban Research Corporation. Material from this newsletter may be used as long as The Spokeswoman (including name and cost) is credited. Editor, typist, proof reader, layout artist and production manager: Susan Davis.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Spokeswoman

Vol. 1, No. 8

January 1, 1971

A monthly information service for all women

Women's demonstrations for child care win limited gains in several cities. See page 2. . . . Landmark sex discrimination case against Libbey-Owens-Ford settled out of court for token gains. Page 3. . . . Members of National Welfare Rights Organization demand school clothes under Title 1. Also page 3. . . . H.E.W.'s bite tested by U. of Michigan in contract compliance case. Story on page 5. . . . Los Angeles feminists offer free legal aid for women seeking divorces. See page 6. **CONFIDENTIAL**

Women's Liberation Movement Debates Structure for Growth

There is a developing debate within women's liberation about how the movement should be structured. The debate focuses on two issues: 1) organizational structure (i.e., steering committees or other systems of representation) and 2) criteria for membership. On the one hand, there are women who feel that the movement must be all inclusive ("a mass movement") and that organizations must be loosely-defined umbrella groups or coalitions. The reasoning is that no woman should feel excluded from a women's liberation organization. On the other hand, there are women who feel that specific organizations within the larger women's liberation movement must establish programs and political definitions of themselves in order to grow. The discussion is of particular importance because the women's movement began by stating the need to create a democracy that treated women as equals and allowed women to develop together. Bread and Roses in Boston fell into a period of inactivity because they rejected any form of representation and this resulted in a breakdown of communications. In Chicago, the Women's Liberation Union recently voted at a city-wide meeting to establish criteria for membership and to hold a planning meeting of that membership.

Coinciding with this trend is a political development within the movement to clarify the ideological nature of women's liberation both internally and in relation to other groups. The first form this took was the creation of groups which were against participation in male-dominated or co-ed organizations. For example, New York's Radical Feminists decided that no more than two-thirds of its members could be living with men. In Iowa City in early fall, women's liberation debated internally the child care collective's desire to include men in child care responsibilities.

Another trend is to differentiate liberal women's rights from a radical and/or socialist feminist perspective. For example, the division between National Organization for Women chapters and women's liberation groups, which surfaced in August 26th city-wide coalitions, tend to follow this line. There is also a clarifying of political distinctions within groups that are both radical and feminist. In particular, members of the Socialist Workers Party (SWP) and Young Socialist Alliance (YSA) are in conflict with other radical feminists as women's liberation groups in various cities have attempted to differentiate themselves as independent women's organizations. Members of SWP and YSA are committed to open membership groups so as to build a mass movement led by their party leadership. However, other radical feminists feel that political leadership must come from the women's movement itself. Thus, there have been recent attempts at exclusion of SWP and YSA women. In Boston, Cell 16 and SWP-oriented Female Liberation are locked in this debate over control of their *Journal*. In New York City, the Women's Center voted to exclude members of these two parties. In Los Angeles, six nonsocialist feminists disaffiliated with the Women's Center. In Vancouver, women's liberation voted to exclude members of the same two socialist groups. Describing this, the newspaper *The Pedestal* said, "We see this separation as a positive thing, because in this period the women's movement should be developing and testing different strategies, rather than feeling it necessary to adopt some sort of umbrella strategy which would satisfy everyone."

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OMAHA

IOWA CITY WOMEN'S LIBERATION FRONT
P. O. Box 1169
Iowa City, Iowa 52240

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Source has made available copies of the newspaper "Aint I A Woman", which identifies itself as published every three weeks by the Publications Collective of the Iowa City Women's Liberation Front. The issue dated 11/20/70 and numbered Vol. 1, No. 9, made available by source on 12/4/70 and the issue dated Dec. 11, 1970, numbered Vol. 1, No. 10, were received in duplicate by the RU, according to the source, and the extra copies furnished by the source are enclosed for the Omaha Office. 2

The issue dated 11/20/70 carries accounts of the Grinnell Women's Liberation Front Conference held at Grinnell College, Grinnell, Iowa. It is noted that unsigned account tells of a participant from the Twin Oaks Commune in Virginia, formerly attended High School at Iowa City. (In this connection, it is noted that [redacted] Bufile 100-456262; SF file 100-64958; Richmond file 100-11100 and her spouse, [redacted] Bufile 100-455815; SF file 100-64681; Richmond file 100-11089, are former members of the Twin Oaks Commune, who came to San Francisco, Calif. to join the RU.) The account also discusses the statements made to the Grinnell Conference by MARLENE DIXON, and elsewhere the newspaper sets out an article excerpted from MARLENE DIXON's "Where Are We Going", which appeared in the February, 1970 issue of "Radical America", with a note that reprints can be ordered from "Radical America", 1237 Spaight St., Madison, Wisconsin 53703. (DIXON appears identical with MARLENE DAVIDSON DIXON, Bufile 100-453733; Chicago file 100-47015; LA file 100-68196; SF file 100-64390.) Such parts of the newspaper as set out DIXON's comments were Xerox'd and are included below. Also Xerox'd and included below are a handwritten statement of [redacted] and an announcement of the Women's History Research Center, Inc., 2325 Oak St., Berkeley, California. 2 (u)

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SF 100-61281

JES:ay

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The issue dated 12/11/70, sets out further information concerning the Grinnell Conference, and in an article entitled "Daycare Campaigns and Co-ops", written by someone from Bloomington, Indiana, apparently connected with Bloomington Women's Liberation Front, 414 North Park, Bloomington, Indiana, the above participant from Twin Oaks Commune is identified as "[redacted]". One page in this issue is a statement by [redacted], Cambridge, Mass., over the names of the members of the cell. [redacted]

[redacted] and [redacted] This article was Xerox'd and is included below. Another page of the issue of 12/11/70 reprints an article from the Women's Liberation Newsletter which is published by the Women's Liberation Library, 1131 So. Brook St., Louisville, Kentucky. The second page of this newspaper printed a letter dated 11/18/70, at New Orleans, from [redacted] (It is noted that [redacted] has been to Cuba with the Venceramos Brigade, and that she has visited RU leaders in the San Francisco area and that she is reported as having started an RU Collective at New Orleans.) [redacted] letter was Xerox'd and included below. Also included below is a Xerox'd reproduction of an article from page 5 of the issue dated 12/11/70, entitled! "Change in N.Y. Women's Center".

Regarding [redacted] whose handwritten statement is reproduced below, it is noted that the first issue of "Defiance", "A Radical Review" published recently by Paperback Library, a division of Coronet Communications, Inc. at New York City, contained an article on Women's Liberation, by PIERCY in connection with which she was described as follows:

MARGE PIERCY has written a lot of things: two books of poetry (Breaking Camp and Hard Loving), a novel (Going Down Fast), and numerous articles for New Left Notes, Paris Review, Hanging Loose, Transatlantic Review, Leviathan and The Guardian. She was active in SDS, the North American Congress for Latin America, and is a founder of the Movement for a Democratic Society in New York. A graduate of the University of Michigan and Northwestern, she now devotes her time to Women's Liberation.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

GRINNELL WI

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

We arrived at Grinnell on Friday night just as the first snowflakes of the season began to fall. Grinnell is an elite school, one of those "excellent" undergraduate colleges that none of the women I went with could have afforded to go to. It's a 60 mile drive along the interstate, the same distance from Iowa City as the Quad-cities area, only in the opposite direction. I've never been to Grinnell for a women's liberation meeting, but I have gone the other way, to Davenport to picket with Chicano women and men who were demanding jobs.

Women who go to Grinnell usually end up in the League of Women Voters, wives of businessmen and college professors-- inveterate liberals. They can usually afford to be.

The main thing we have in common with the women there is our needs as women and a commitment to or interest in Women's Liberation.

When we got to the auditorium the meeting had already started. We came in just as a woman from Twin Oaks, a commune in Virginia, was talking about their commune--how they live, what they see as necessary for survival and growth, and those things she was experiencing. Not much about women, but I was proud of her, knowing that the same woman had come to our meetings last year when she was in high school in Iowa City. I was proud of what she was doing, and struck by her appearance of agelessness. And I wondered about all the women in her high school class who, unlike her, never had the choice of rejecting the university and its way of life. But I did not blame her for their plight. I think that's something I've learned from women's liberation.

Then Marlene Dixon came on--not as strong as I've heard her before, and not as soft either. More controlled, more burned out. She was talking about why she was getting out of Women's Liberation. It is a middle class, white organization, she said, and she went on to detail actions about the Equal Rights amendment, blasting women for supporting it. She went into great detail to explain how women should have been supporting extension of protective laws for men instead, and I thought, "I've seen this movie before." But we do it in small groups and we don't confuse our sisters with the women Marlene is accusing us of being. I thought, she spends too much time debating with NOW, & I've heard that debate & we've all taken part in it so many times & who the hell is she talking to? She belittled those projects we've worked on--but they didn't sound like our projects--they all sounded like pretty high class, frivolous things.

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Then came the clincher--a woman asked whether any effective work would be done about racism, imperialism, capitalism while you remained in college, whether maybe you didn't have to give that up--Marlene replied that there were SOME colleges and universities where you could do effective work. Wow, I thought, OUT OF THE DAY CARE CENTERS & INTO THE COLLEGES. I've been through this movie before. Lay on a middle-class guilt trip but leave room for yourself.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Nothing that happened after changed my impression of what Marlene was saying. The most important things to fight are capitalism, imperialism and racism, she said. How to do that except through Women's Liberation she was asked in four different ways. What movement will you go to? A lot of us wanted, and needed, an answer to that. Every time she responded with a recitation of the horrors of capitalism, racism and imperialism. I've known about those horrors for a long time, nothing she said added any dimensions to them, but I have hopes that we can work to end them through women's liberation. I don't see any other way.

Marlene lashed out at other women for their liberal campaigns to change laws. I think she knew that we had spent a lot of time talking with women about that amendment. She talked down to all of us who have struggled daily to get that message across and now she was using it against us. Marlene had kind words for everyone but women: the youth culture had potential if it became political and it would become political as soon as the repression came down on it, which was inevitable, she said. The Black Panthers were the leading edge of revolution and not to be criticized--although Marlene seems to have forgotten that she was involved in quite a brouhaha at a Black Panther conference herself when she was the one "chosen" to represent women. So Marlene said she was getting out. Where would she go? I'm still wondering.

I was really proud of the three sisters from our collective who made the only points relevant to me all night. I'm still wondering about those points.

Marlene mentioned being at Sky River rock festival, the fundraising event sponsored by the Seattle Liberation Front, and she expressed disappointment that the event was non-political. I thought of our sisters in Fanshen and the Anna Louise Strong

Don G

Talman 1.11.71

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LF CONFERENCE

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Brigade and their struggles within and without the Seattle Liberation Front and I thought about how beautiful those sisters must be. But Marlene didn't mention those sisters, she talked about how when the repression starts to come down on them, the youth culture will get political, so it's all for the good. Later, a woman from our collective got up and elaborated on what happened to women at Sky River and how three women were raped and a fourth rape was prevented by a female chauvin patrol. Only then did Marlene respond with any knowledge of how women were treated at Sky River. Somehow she didn't make any connection with what she'd said earlier. I thought, my god, she's had a frontal lobotomy, can't she see any connection with her statements about the youth culture? If she knew about it, why didn't she talk about it? If we can't prevent rapes by our so-called potential revolutionary allies, how in the hell can we prevent rapes of Vietnamese women? If we're invisible to a woman who's been working in women's liberation since 1966, when will we ever be seen? To be a woman is to fight always on two fronts, and it's not getting any easier. I deeply resented Marlene for that, I questioned her honesty, something I'd never done before.

Some women announced the organization of an anti-imperialist women's movement to sign a declaration of independence from American foreign policy. Women against the war? The Women's International League for Peace & Freedom did that in 1915 and they're still proclaiming their freedom from it. They're working against the draft and for a mercenary army. Some step forward. A woman from our collective, a woman who went to jail over the war four years ago, got up and expressed our feeling that this was a rip-off of the women's movement, expressed our sense of futility over such actions, over the takeover of the women's centers by the YSA and our need for an autonomous women's movement, and our refusal to be coopted by any elitist movement directed by the eastern very old left.

Marlene's reaction was to ridicule the phrase male-identified women, a term she doesn't use along with sexism or sisterhood.

A third woman told Marlene that she was simply wrong when she stated we weren't around during the invasion of Cambodia. We were indeed there, 24 hours a day at times--some of us walked off jobs, some went to jail. But mostly we spent so much time fighting for our single demand, an end to sexism, that we had little time to do anything else. Our demand was always the first one to be compromised so we had to fight twice as hard as anybody else. The sister asked, why didn't you see us, Marlene? (People who do watch, did--one campus equivalent of J. Edgar decided the WL people were the most dangerous on campus.) I thought of women all over the country who were told by the suddenly conscience-stricken liberals to take their "piddling provocations" elsewhere, that WE had to end the war. No response from Marlene.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Else where in this issue are excerpts from an earlier article by Marlene. In it she lays down a beautiful rap on women. In it she also raises the question of leadership in the women's movement. This was surely the Invisible Issue, the unspoken question at the Grinnell Conference. Marlene never mentioned the issue of leadership, because in her terms nothing but NOW exists. She put everything in terms of a class issue. In Marlene's terms we don't exist because we never solved the issue of leadership. All the groups that work as we do--as collectives that refuse to be experts and specialists--that question directions from any centralized group--we're all invisible. Her arguments are all addressed to the leadership of NOW.

Too bad. Something behind what Marlene says might be right. It might be impossible to create a non-racist women's movement. That worries me deeply because I will not take part in a racist one for any amount of freedom.

I don't know if Marlene even cared about what she was saying. She seemed to think it great fun when a dude went running out shouting his joy at the first snowfall and many of the people in the audience jumped up and left, the most exciting thing to happen to them all evening. Maybe when she cares about what she's saying, she goes to other places to say it.

I still don't know any answers to the important questions of how to end imperialism, racism, capitalism and sexism (yes, sexism, Marlene) but I know we won't get them at panels at elite colleges. Maybe we'll work them out together.

How can we fight for the needs of women and create a non-racist, non-exploitative society? Nothing that happened at Grinnell convinces me we don't need a women's movement. I can see that some women won't take part, and I guess I'm sorry that Marlene is one of them.

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Where are we

The Following article is excerpted from Marlene Dixon's
WHERE ARE WE GOING? appearing in the February, 1970
special issue on women of RADICAL AMERICA.
(See page for information on ordering the magazine.)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

... The strength of the women's movement is rooted in the real oppression of women, while its future potentiality as a mass movement clearly depends upon the quality of the consciousness that women develop. Both the socialist and the consciousness-raising groups (in early meetings) were in this sense correct. Ultimately, the strength of the movement will rest upon the depth of women's understanding of the nature and origins of their oppression and upon the honesty with which they are able to face the psychological terrors of open rebellion. It is a fearful thing for a woman to be a rebel, as much for the Movement "wife" as for the average housewife.

Indeed, much of what passed for "ideological struggle" at the (Chicago, 1968) women's conference was in fact a disguised struggle between totally rebellious "independent" women and radical women who work primarily within women's caucuses. The tension that surrounded the unspoken fears of women concerning the consequences of open rebellion often took the form that women, and other oppressed groups, are most familiar with: turning upon each other. Much of the pathology of the conference, particularly in terms of personal animosity and suspicion, could be directly traced to the degree to which each woman was still dependent upon men for her evaluation of herself. The boldest and most fearless women were clearly those who had bolted from, or never belonged to, established leftist organizations; they were followed by those women still in such organizations, but active in women's auxiliaries. The unattached and curious women, newcomers to the movement, were the most timid and confused.

The defensiveness that characterized the workshops and plenary sessions was the expression of an overriding anxiety about being able to justify the existence of a women's movement. The Invisible Audience present at the Chicago conference were the very "male heavies" who had done so much to bring about the existence of a radical women's female liberation movement. The radical women had a prior history engraved upon their foreheads: Ruby Doris Smith Robinson presenting The Position of Women in SNCC (1964) provoking Stokely Carmichael's famous reply: "The only position for women in SNCC is prone"; Casey Hayden and Mary King rousing a storm of controversy for their articles in Studies on the Left and Liberation; and the December, 1965, SDS conference greeting a discussion and floor demonstration on the issue of women with catcalls, storms of ridicule and verbal abuse. "She just needs a good screw", or (the all-time favorite) "She's a castrating female".

Women had learned from 1964 to 1968 that to fight for or even to sympathize with women's liberation was to pay a terrible price: what little credit a woman might have earned in one of the Left organizations was wiped out in a storm of contempt and personal abuse. ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The strategy that the leftist women had adopted for the Chicago conference was to develop a "politics" with sufficient analytical merit to force the men to recognize the legitimacy of the women's movement, a tactic which has paid off in the Movement by 1969. Socialism, Revolution, Capitalism were thick in discussion. NITCH, Consciousness Raising and Radicals met head-on in debate, amid many hard feelings. The trouble was that none of these analyses, and this unfortunately especially applied to radical women, seriously linked theory and practice in such a way as to lead to strategies for action. For instance, the radical women had not yet begun to push for day care centers in working class organizing, although when they at last found an action, they were to become as fanatical and sectarian in rejecting all those whose minds remained unblasted by Truth as the non-Movement women.

The "ideology" of the radical women was, by and large, an academic exercise in the art of the "intellectual male heavy" in the Movement. The radical women were decimated by the invisible male audience. Thus, the real split among the women hinged upon the significant audience that women addressed: other women, or Movement men. The audience determined not only ideology, but the role women took in workshops and debate. Also, most crucially, the choice of audience determined the ability of one woman to understand another. Yet, irrespective of the origin of stressing political analysis above all other elements of the women's movement, or even the rather vulgar Marxist-Leninist character of early attempts, the long range effect has had tremendous importance to furthering the intellectual maturity of the women's movement.

At the conference, and in later controversies, the basic division between women is usually referred to as "consciousness-raising" vs. "radical" or "bourgeois" vs. "revolutionary." The names are very misleading for understanding the division, but highly indicative of the nature of the misunderstanding between women.

Women are trained to nuances, to listening for the subtle cues which carry the message hidden under the words. It is part of that special skill called "intuition" or "empathy" which all female children must learn if they are to be successful in manipulating others to get what they want and to be successful in providing

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"sympathy and understanding" to their husbands and lovers. The skill is so central to communication between women and all others- women to women, women to men, women to children- that it is not surprising to note that intuition is also central to political communication among women. There are no words for communication which occurs on many complex levels, so that it is quite possible to have two complete communication processes going on at once- the articulated and the implicit levels. At the women's conference the overt process was all in a man's vocabulary of political rhetoric and analysis, while the covert level was altogether different...

...the battle was waged in a political vocabulary, but the issues had really to do with basic orientations toward women. The wildcat groups took woman (as mystical, rebellious, expressive and mysterious, or as enraged) as their ideal, while the leftist women were using leader-intellectual (the role from which all rewards flow in the Movement) as theirs. The tragedy of this misunderstanding was that political polarization - needless polarization - was the result. The wildcat women, many of whom hate the movement bitterly because of the chauvinism they experienced in it, dismissed the leftists as, unliberated spokeswomen for the submersion of the women's struggle in the "revolutionary" struggle; while the leftist women dismissed the wildcats as hopelessly a-political and counter-revolutionary. That each might have learned from the other, that all shared real conditions of oppression, was obscured.

Another battle was waged on the level of sentiments, in the suspicion of leaders. The resentment against women who seemed in charge (such as experienced by Marilyn Webb and others who had worked hard, and thanklessly, to bring the conference about) was real, a product of all of the participants' experience with established organizations. Women had suffered so much from the oppression of 'male heavies', whether from a boss on the job or a boss in the movement or the boss at home, suffered from being forced to be camp followers, ignored in decision making and treated generally with contempt for their intellectual and moral qualities. Their resentment, therefore, of any woman who even appeared to be playing a typical male leadership role, whether true or not, bordered on the pathological.

The women's movement, like the black movement before it (and most rebellious movements in their early stages of development), is torn by suspicion and rivalry: everyone wants to be a leader,

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or to be in a position to achieve recognition for which they are starved. But no one wants to admit it. Years of second class citizenship breeds in people an enormous hunger to be recognized. If one's hunger is to be once again frustrated, then, damn it!, no one else is going to enjoy the pleasures of recognition either. The result was that 'leaders' 'led' by virtue of doing hard, ugly work and then bent over backwards trying to appear to be 'non-leaders'. This, of course, fooled no one. The long nurtured secret hunger for recognition has been hidden for so long it had taken on a magical, fearful meaning -- no one could talk about it. It remained, at the conference, unexpressed and sour, a slow acid eating at the women's movement, guaranteeing that it will remain segmentalized, split into tiny groups in every major city and region, unaware of its potential size and power. Thus the issue of leadership, of democratizing the structure of the movement, of fighting against the manifold corruptions of elitism is not only a major problem in political theory for women, it is the practical problem which must be solved before the movement can reach its maturity. The alternative is death through factionalism and disintegration:..

...radical women, even in the face of a large, well-funded liberal or left-liberal organization such as the National Organization of Women, remain tied to a male audience, defining themselves in terms of men's organizations exclusively and continuing to regard women opportunistically, as another group to further the struggle. So long as women remain tied to the men's 'line', and blind to their own exploitation by white middle class male radicals, it will not be radical women who do the organizing. The organizing will be done by politically unsophisticated, profoundly liberal women who address women's oppression directly. Unless the radical women get themselves together, in the interests of their own oppression and the oppression of all their sisters, a mass movement dominated by an ideology of 'let us in' (and not 'set us free') will develop in the next few years.

Women must face facts. Men will never, until forced by circumstances, place first, or even urgent, priority upon a struggle against the oppression of women... Men must carry the burden of 'white middle class guilt'; they cannot live with the growing recognition that in their daily lives they exploit and oppress; and so, they struggle against women and against the almost intolerable process of self-recognition women are now demanding they undergo.

For example, it is not an accident that radical women have not been organizing. The energies of radical women have too long been deflected into arguing-pleading-justifying their cause, i.e. to fighting male chauvinism, male supremacy, in the movement. Theirs has been a profoundly a-political, personalized struggle, one devoted to personal liberation. It is ironic that radical women so wrapped up in their sex lives and Movement careers,

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continued from p.10 .

so obsessed with personal liberation, have been unable to see the contradiction in turning to attack (as utopian, apolitical and bourgeois) women who are doing no more than the same thing, only with more boldness, originality and courage: women refusing to marry, women setting up liberated communes, women concerned with raising children collectively, women who have tried to show the possibilities of experimentation with free lives.

Male supremacy is a man's problem, and they are either with us or part of the problem -- the solution is their responsibility. What is important is building an army that will attack the brutal inhumanity and injustice of a capitalist society at every weak point of its abusive exploitation of the powerless, that will spread the idea of liberation through all the web of contradiction and oppression that destroys human beings before they are half begun in life. The arrogance, duplicity and culpability of men who will not admit the power and authenticity of a mass movement based upon the oppression of women - all women - is to be condemned, in the name of revolutionary discipline, for they weaken and abort the liberation of a people. These men are dupes and victims of their own society, containing within themselves the image of a ruling class, for they exhibit contempt for human beings, opposition to the freedom of human beings, an absolute refusal to stop benefiting from the exploitation of human beings. Let them come along or get out of the way.

*The Feb, 1970 issue of Radical America on women
can be ordered for 75¢ from*

*Radical America
1237 Spaight Street
Madison, Wisc.
53703*

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We are told that our sense of oppression is not legitimate. We are told that women's ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ liberation is a secondary issue, to be dealt with after the war is won. But the basis of women's oppression is economic in a sense that far predates capitalism and the market economy and it is woven through the whole fabric of socialization. Our claims are the most radical for they entail restructuring even the nuclear family. Nowhere on earth are women free now, although in some places things are marginally better. What we want we will have to invent ourselves.

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20 NOVEMBER 1970

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Please address all future correspondence concerning a Journal of Female Liberation (No More Fun & Games, The Female State) to:

Cell 16
16 Lexington Avenue
Cambridge, Mass. 02138

We are no longer producing and distributing the Journal at the Boylston Street address because that office has been taken over and is being occupied by female members of YSA/SWP (Young Socialist Alliance of Socialist Workers Party) who had been working out of that office. Since November 14, we have had no access to mail addressed there.

The takeover last week was the climax of a long series of troubles with YSA. The following is an attempt to give the history of Cell 16 and to describe what led up to the frustrating and depressing situation created by the takeover.

After working together informally for about a year, we, along with Roxanne Dunbar (now working in New Orleans) and Jeanne Lafferty (now in YSA), established ourselves as a small group to put out the Journal and work on a feminist analysis. This was in May 1969. We took the name Cell 16 to emphasize the organic nature of the movement, of which we were just one cell. We did not wish to be the movement or have all women join us; we wished to be part of the movement, a radical and creative force in finding the most relevant directions for the feminist movement.

Because we were a small group and in political agreement, our democracy was spontaneous. When political disagreement arose with one or two of our original members, we disbanded the group as a formal entity rather than to either impose the majority will on those who disagreed or waste time in conflict with each other.

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At this time we moved our office equipment to Somerville, intending that the Journal should remain, as it always had been, a strong and unified feminist statement. We formed a Committee to ensure control over the established character and purpose of the Journal and the office whose primary function was the production of the Journal. In this respect the Finance Committee, as it was called, was an attempt to replace that particular function of Cell 16.

A Journal fund (including income from sales of the Journal) supported Journal printings and reprintings, the office rent and expenses, and the salary of one person working full time.

Cell 16 having disbanded, the Finance Committee had political control only over the Journal, administrative control only over the office finances, and no control over any other activities in the office. Thus there were no longer any clear-cut or natural limits on who could use the office.

The office did begin to be used by various women with whom we were not actively associated and in whose activities we didn't necessarily want to participate. We felt that we could have no legitimate objections as long as the primacy of the Journal was respected. These other activities were being made possible through the Journal's financial support of the office.

It was at this point that some women who had worked with us previously revealed that they had joined YSA. They began to "organize" the informal office meetings into democratically run business meetings, and brought other YSA women in. The woman on salary and others working in the office on Journal distribution became alarmed since the YSA had a reputation for infiltration and takeover. They tried to keep the YSA women out of the office, finally going so far as to change the lock on the office door.

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The YSA/SWP politics lends them to believe that they are justified in any intervention because their understanding of social change is better than anyone else's. Their function as they see it as leaders of the masses. These masses must be molded into movements, infiltrated and controlled in order to be directed in the correct way.

We opposed this, feeling that the action taken against the YSA women was inappropriate; that until there was an overt attempt to take control of the Journal or office we were not justified in purging people with whom we had worked comfortably in the past.

The women who had serious disagreement with the female YSA members left. We moved the office to Boston. Many more YSA/SWP women then "joined" Female Liberation.

The office became a highly organized women's center. The weekly business meetings (to which we never went because we didn't recognize their right to alter the purpose of the office) presumed to vote on all office decisions, not just decisions on their activities. This was intolerable. And our political disagreements with them on feminism as well as their general disrespect for us and our work had by this time become increasingly intolerable as well.

In many of their statements and by the action of joining YSA they indicate that they believe that a feminist movement is insufficient to accomplish fundamental social change. In their view SWP will be the vanguard of any change that comes. Women are merely one segment of the masses they will lead.

For tactical reasons they confuse the meaning of a group with the meaning of a movement. Under the guise of saying that no one should be excluded from movements they attempt to prevent the exclusion of anyone from any group. This means that any group can be infiltrated with ease.

The YSA women insisted on using the name Female Liberation as a name for their group even though we had always asserted that the name should not be used as a group name because we wanted all women in the movement to feel free to use it as the movement name.

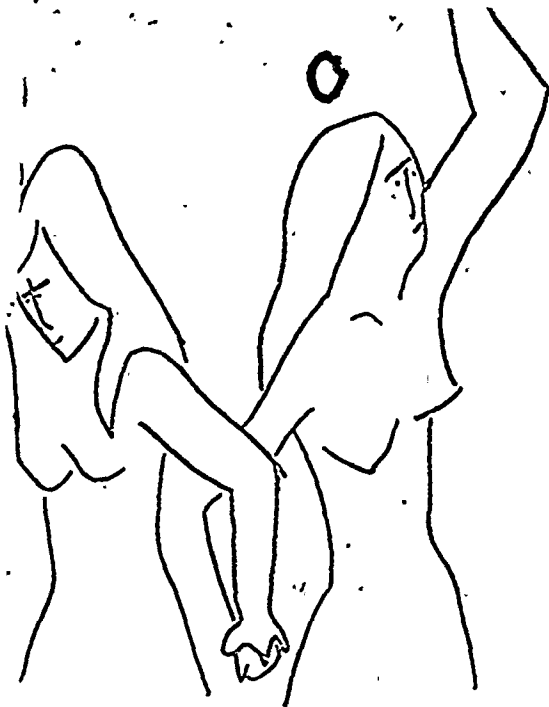
In our office, moreover, they established coalitions with groups with which we had no political agreement, only common goals - as when they worked with anti-feminists on abortion law repeal.

Their use of coalitions has been to give them access to greater numbers of people. The effect is to neutralize the integrity and intensity of individual groups.

The Journal fund was still supporting the office and original Journal activists were still doing all the clerical work of maintaining the mailing lists and filling Journal orders.

Since the expanded activities and coalitions had made the purpose of the office confused and the functioning so diffuse that even the future of the Journal seemed

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threatened, the Finance Committee met and decided that we had to re-establish the original principles by placing the office money especially allocated for future Journal printings and reprintings into a separate bank account.

This would have separated it from the account used generally by consent of the business meeting group for their various projects. (Up until then, these projects were financed largely by the Journal profits, contrary to our original intentions when we set up the office.)

We said that we would continue to pay the office expenses out of the Journal fund and agreed that they could continue to use the office provided they didn't interfere with the Journal work.

Two representatives of the business meeting group agreed to these conditions.

However, at their next business meeting they voted to dissolve the Finance Committee, to keep all the Journal money, to choose their own Journal committee to put out future Journals, and to incorporate as "Female Liberation, Inc." under the laws of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in order to protect their use of that name and to attempt to establish a legal right to the money, Journals, and mail.

The Corporation accuses us of trying to destroy the Women's movement by not permit-

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The Corporation accuses us of trying to destroy the Women's movement by not permitting them to use the Journal as capital to finance their activities.

Our response to this is that they are not the movement, only one of the many diverse groups within it; nor is the movement dependent on their organizing activities. Female liberation is a response to an objective reality of oppression not a hysteria drummed up by organizers.

We have always asserted our belief that movements grow only when there are vital individuals and groups doing what feels most important and relevant and progressing as fast as they can in their analysis: developing and spreading the ideas that brought them together.

They should not attempt to become the movement themselves by bringing everyone into their group (thus impeding its efficiency and diluting its message), but offer their ideas and analysis to others through writing and talking.

The greater the number of groups which are encouraged to contribute their various perspectives to the movement in an undiluted form, the richer and more varied the whole movement will grow. It will be less likely that it will turn into a one-issue movement.

At present we are operating out of our old Cell 16 office and again calling ourselves Cell 16. Those who have been interested in or have agreed with the principles expressed in previous Journals should address future correspondence to us. It may be impossible for us ever to get the mail addressed to the office in Boston.

Cell 16: Dana Densmore, Lisa Leghorn, Abby Rockefeller, Betsy Warrior, Jayne West

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Change in N.Y. Women's Center

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Announcement of the October 15th meeting at the New York City Women's Center.

Previously it had been decided to keep the NYC Women's Center open with a loose structure so that women of widely varying affiliations and politics within the movement could meet and exchange ideas freely. The October 15th meeting dealt with just what groups were in the movement and in what ways individuals and groups should use the center.

Motions passed at the meeting included:

- 1) No women running for political office or actively and publicly engaged in campaigning for another person seeking political office within this system can serve on the steering, speakers, forum, fund raising, financial or literature collectives of the center.
- 2) No organized political party or subdivision seeking power within this system (by election) or representation or publication of such a party can use the name of the W.L. center in any way that implies identification of the party organization or individual with the Center. Any breach of this rule will be met with public repudiation by the Center.
- 3) No member of the SWP-YSA or any party set up or controlled by the SWP can serve on any collective connected with running the Center.

For a copy of the minutes of this meeting write to: Women's Liberation Center of
New York City
36 West 22nd. St.
New York, N.Y. 10010

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

New Orleans, La.
November 18, 1970

Sisters:

We want to apologize and criticize ourselves for distributing the material from "Red Women's Detachment" in New York. Our decision to distribute that material to some of our sisters came in the wake of our having discovered an information gatherer working with us, coming to mistrust our own sense of things. We thought we had to treat our "liberalism." Some of the doubts we had about GLF, women's liberation, and our disgust with the roles of SWP-YSA and NOW in the Women's movement were expressed in the RWD papers. Our mistake was to not trust our own ability to express what we had observed. Rather we took, whole and uninvestigated, papers from an unknown group. Also there was a great deal in the papers that we did not agree with, particularly the tone. For this we severely criticize ourselves. Since that time we have found out that the organization (RWD) is actually only two people, and the papers do not grow from or reflect practice.

There is much to say about our deeper understanding, which would require a long paper, and this is meant to be a letter. The principle of our new thinking is about faith in the people. I realize that I lacked such faith in thinking people had to be pinned against the wall to raise their political consciousness. But the lack of faith is also reflected in a fear of struggling with sisters and brothers. I think most of us have been unwilling to trust our political judgment and growth, and to enter into discussions with people, committed to learn. Too often we are defensive with revolutionary and potentially revolutionary comrades.

Futhermore, since the summer, we have thought a great deal about the questions we had which led us to distribute the papers. Also, two of us went to Cuba on the Venceremos Brigade, and there we struggled over the questions we had with other women, white and third world, and with men, white, third-world, and gay, as well as the Cubans.

Yet I am convinced that the revolutionary love that is necessary for our long struggle will only be born of our

growing struggles, not our wishes. That is what I learned in Cuba: unity and love come from struggle, and such struggle must be continual for unity and love to subsist.

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What we must now commit ourselves to is the struggle. We must build a base among women-- the working women, mothers, young girls-- not just our educated sisters. We must analyze our conditions, learn about struggles all over the world, develop a strategy in relation to the total revolutionary movement. We must decide on priorities. If we cannot accept the necessity for priorities, we cannot be serious about change. Whether or not there should be a women's movement, whether or not there must be female leadership, whether or not revolutionary men must be clear on "the woman question," there is no question of priorities. Women's involvement and consciousness and growing vanguard role in the movement is an irreversible fact. No, by priorities I mean: Who will we organize among, since we cannot organize everywhere? What are our demands? How much can we satisfy personal needs before the revolution such as the kind of relations with men and children we project, life-style, skills, etc., and what do we have to sacrifice in order to build a revolutionary movement and win?

More than anything, in Cuba, I was humbled by learning the necessity for sacrifice and hard work; how serious and long-term (all our lives) is our task. We learned this from the Cubans as well as the Vietnamese, Laotians, Cambodians, Africans, Latin Americans. In our rebellion against woman's traditional role, we have tended to scoff at the virtue of sacrifice, which has been forced upon women and other oppressed peoples. But sacrifice is one of the basic necessities in a revolutionary struggle, for a vanguard force, and is a virtue we should transform from its present bourgeois setting, which keeps people down, to a revolutionary perspective. Let us not throw out the baby with the bath water. Power to the sisters, Venceremos,

Love

Roxanne Dunbar

1

REVOLUTIONARY UNION,
Also Known As
Red Union, Bay Area
Revolutionary Union

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

In September, 1968, a source advised that the Revolutionary Union, commonly known to its membership as the Red Union (RU), was formed in early 1968 as a covert, revolutionary, Marxist-Leninist organization ideologically oriented toward Communist China, which it views as the model of the correct revolutionary Marxist-Leninist line as developed through MAO Tse-tung. The RU advocates the necessity of violent revolution and open guerrilla warfare to overthrow the existing political system in the United States and effect radical changes in this nation, and some members are collecting firearms, explosives, and other weapons and have engaged in guerrilla warfare and firearms training.

In April, 1970, a second source advised that the RU partially surfaced in April, 1969, through advertisements in select "New Left" periodicals, offering for sale select writings of the RU, including a "Statement of Principles", in the form of "The Red Papers". In "The Red Papers 3", published in April, 1970, the RU publicly identified five members of the Central Committee. With the exception of these five publicly identified members, the general membership of the RU will remain covert; however, individual members are free to reveal their RU membership to close political associates as the necessities of political effectiveness dictate.

As of April, 1970, the second source stated the RU in the San Francisco Bay Area consists of at least eleven collectives in San Jose, Palo Alto, Redwood City, San Francisco, Berkeley and Richmond, California.

The RU's published "Statement of Principles" calls for the smashing of the existing state apparatus by the United States working class and the establishment of communism and the dictatorship of the proletariat; recognizes the necessity of violent revolution and organized armed struggle to achieve those ends and calls for the creation of a revolutionary party based upon Marxism-Leninism as developed through MAO Tse-tung.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ APPENDIX

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT

Memorandum

TO : DIRECTOR, FBI (100-453733)

DATE: 1/6/77

FROM : *[Signature]* ADIC, LOS ANGELES (100-68196) (RUC)

SUBJECT: MARLENE VIRGINIA DIXON, aka: *no a/c*

SM - C

Communist?

OO: CHICAGO

Re Albany letter to Bureau, copies to Los Angeles, captioned "MARLENE DIXON, aka., Marlene Davidson, Marlene Dillon, SM - C," dated 12/3/76.

Enclosed for Chicago is one copy of referenced Albany letter together with its enclosure.

Review of captioned subject's Los Angeles file reflects captioned subject probably identical to subject of Albany letter. *0*

Los Angeles file contains no information indicating captioned subject to have been a member of the Communist Party, USA. File further reflects Los Angeles letter to Bureau dated 12/11/69, copies to Chicago, in which subject's case was RUC'd to Chicago. No subsequent information concerning subject contained in Los Angeles file.

Albany letter and its enclosure being furnished Chicago in event Chicago has current investigative interest in subject.

- 2 - Bureau (RM)
- 2 - Albany (100-24343) (RM)
- 2 - Chicago (100-47015) (Encls. 2) (RM)
- 1 - Los Angeles

DDW:mmw
(7)

EX-109
REC-19

100-453733-17

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10/2/95 *SP2 Tap/ep*



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2/22/77

Director, FBI (100-453733)

0
MARLENE DIXON, aka
Marlene Davidson
Marlene Dillon
SM - C
OO: LA

Reference Albany letter to Bureau
dated 12/3/76, no copy to Chicago.

Review of Bufiles discloses that
Los Angeles and Chicago are in possession of
all pertinent information concerning captioned
individual.

1 - Albany (100-24343)
1 - Chicago

WAH:rsm
(6)

ALL INFORMATION CONTAINED
HEREIN IS UNCLASSIFIED
DATE 6-16-80 BY SP-1 [signature]
10/2/85 SP-1 [signature]

EX-108

REC-60 100-453733-18

22 MAR 1 1977

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FEB 18 1977

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